

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 IO-13 /097 W

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P 211619Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3849

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 11357

FOR WISNER, AF/S

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UK, US, RH

SUBJ: FINANCIAL TIMES ARTICLE OF JULY 10

1. FOLLOWING IS JULY 10 FINANCIAL TIMES ARTICLE BY  
BRIDGET BLOOM ENTITLED "U.S. SUPPORTS NEW PRESSURE ON  
RHODESIA".

2. QUOTE: A NEW ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE THE RHODESIAN GOVERN-  
MENT TO NEGOTIATE A RAPID TRANSFER TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE  
MAY SOON BE MADE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, BACKED BY THE  
U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE COM-  
MONWEALTH.

PLANS BEING CONSIDERED IN WHITEHALL AND IN WASHING-  
TON PRINCIPALLY INVOLVE THE "FLESHING OUT" OF CURRENT  
BRITISH POLICY ON RHODESIA AS OUTLINED BY MR. CALLAGHAN  
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON MARCH 22.

THEN, MR. CALLAGHAN BLUNTLY WARNED WHITE RHODESIA  
THAT TIME WAS RUNNING OUT AND THAT THE ONLY SOLUTION SANC-  
TIONED BY BRITAIN WOULD BE A TRANSFER TO BLACK RULE WITHIN  
18 MONTHS TO TWO YEARS. THIS POSITION IS FULLY BACKED BY  
THE U.S., BUT DR. KISSINGER, FOLLOWING HIS RECENT VISIT  
TO AFRICA, IS BELIEVED TO BE URGING BRITAIN TO SPELL OUT  
IN MORE DETAIL PRECISELY WHAT A TRANSFER WOULD MEAN, PARTI  
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CULARLY, BUT NOT WHOLLY, IN RELATION TO THE FUTURE OF

WHITES UNDER A BLACK GOVERNMENT.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN A NEW URGENCY BY DR. KISSINGER'S RECENT INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS WELL AS BY THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND, ARE CENTERING ON PROPOSALS FOR OFFERING SOME CONCRETE GUARANTEES TO WHITES WHO EITHER WANT TO LEAVE RHODESIA IN ADVANCE OF BLACK RULE, OR WHO WOULD PREFER TO STAY IN IF THEY COULD HAVE SOME GUARANTEE FOR THEIR FUTURE.

AMONG THE AREAS UNDER CONSIDERATION ARE SCHEMES TO BUY OUT WHITE FARMERS AND FACILITATE THE TRANSFER OF LANDS TO AFRICANS; THE POSSIBLE GUARANTEE OF PENSION RIGHTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS; AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SORT OF GUARANTEE OF A RIGHT OF SETTLEMENT IN EUROPE OR ELSEWHERE.

THE BROAD CONCEPT OF SUCH GUARANTEES IS ACCEPTED IN LONDON AND WASHINGTON, AS IN MANY COMMONWEALTH, INCLUDING AFRICAN, CAPITALS. HOWEVER, THE DETAILS OF WHAT WOULD INEVITABLY BE NOT ONLY AN EXTREMELY COMPLEX BUT CERTAINLY ALSO VERY COSTLY PROGRAMME ARE STILL BEING STUDIED AND TO AN EXTENT ARE STILL THE SUBJECT OF DISPUTE.

AN OFFER OF GUARANTEES IS BROADLY SEEN AS AN INDUCEMENT TO WHITE RHODESIA TO SETTLE WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. BOTH LONDON AND WASHINGTON FEEL THAT WITH THE ESCALATING GUERRILLA WAR, THERE MAY BE LESS THAN A YEAR BEFORE RHODESIA'S "MODERATE" AFRICAN LEADERSHIP BECOMES TOTALLY IRRELEVANT.

"IT IS POINTED OUT THAT WHILE RHODESIA'S ARMED FORCES MAY BE ABLE PHYSICALLY TO WITHSTAND THE WAR FOR A CONSIDERABLE TIME, THEY MUST LOSE EVENTUALLY. THEY WILL THEN FACE A RADICAL, PROBABLY MARXIST, AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

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USIA-15 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 IO-13 /097 W

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P 211619Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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WHICH WILL BE DISINCLINED TO CONSIDER ANY FUTURE FOR  
WHITES IN RHODESIA.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL  
CONSIDERATIONS TO BE OVERCOME BEFORE ANYTHING LIKE A  
"PACKAGE" OF PROPOSALS CAN BE MADE.

ONE DIVISION CURRENTLY CENTRES ON WHETHER WHITES  
SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO LEAVE BY FINANCIAL AND OTHER IN-  
DUCEMENTS IN ADVANCE OF INDEPENDENCE, OR WHETHER THE IN-  
DUCEMENTS SHOULD BE FOR THEM TO STAY. PRESIDENT NYERERE  
OF TANZANIA, IN A MEMORANDUM TO COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS,  
PUT FORWARD THE FIRST IDEA THREE MONTHS AGO. THE BRITISH  
GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, BELIEVES THAT ANY INDUCEMENTS SHOULD  
BE FOR WHITES TO STAY. IF ONLY BECAUSE OF THEIR KEY  
ECONOMIC ROLE.

THERE IS THEN THE PROBLEM OF WHAT AREAS SHOULD BE  
COVERED. PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PROPOSALS THAT THERE SHOULD  
BE GUARANTEES OF SETTLEMENT IN COUNTRIES LIKE THE U.K. AND  
OLDER COMMONWEALTH STATES HAS NOT MET WITH A TOTALLY  
ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE, ALTHOUGH MOST STATES ACCEPT THAT  
WERE THERE TO BE A MOVEMENT OF REFUGEES, SUCH AS DEVELOPED  
IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, THEN THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED  
WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT WHITE RHODESIANS WITHOUT QUESTION.

THERE IS ALSO THE QUESTION OF COST, HOWEVER, THE PRO-  
GRAMME OF WHITE LAND PURCHASE IN KENYA, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS  
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PROBABLY COST MORE THAN POUNDS 100 MILLION IN THE PAST 12  
YEARS. RHODESIA -- PARTICULARLY IF THE COSTS OF GUARANTEE  
ING PENSIONS OF CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHERS WERE INCLUDED --  
WOULD CERTAINLY INVOLVE VERY MUCH MORE.

THERE ARE ALSO SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS. IN BRI-  
TAIN (WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BEAR A SUBSTANTIAL PERCENTAGE  
OF ANY COSTS INVOLVED) THERE WOULD BE MORAL AND FINANCIAL  
OBJECTIONS TO ANY FORM OF "COMPENSATION" FOR WHITES, PAR-  
TICULARLY FROM THE LEFT.

THERE IS ALSO CONSIDERABLE BODY OF OPINION  
WHICH, WHILE PERHAPS ACCEPTING THE NEED FOR SOME SORT OF  
GUARANTEES TO WHITES WOULD LIKE TO SEE A PACKAGE WHICH  
INVOLVED REAL HELP FOR THE COUNTRY'S AFRICAN POPULATION  
TOO.

THESE SORTS OF CONSIDERATIONS COULD WELL AFFECT WHAT  
EVER PROPOSALS ARE ULTIMATELY AGREED. UNQUOTE.

ARMSTRONG

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 21 JUL 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LONDON11357  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760280-0942  
**From:** LONDON  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760737/aaaabgky.tel  
**Line Count:** 170  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** hackerp0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 FEB 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <25 FEB 2004 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <07 JAN 2005 by hackerp0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FINANCIAL TIMES ARTICLE OF JULY 10  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UK, US, RH, FINANCIAL TIMES, (BLOOM, BRIDGET)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006